DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 098 801 FL 006 497

AUTHOR	Van Buren, H.
TITLE	The American Way with Names.
INSTITUTION	Hawaii Univ., Honolulu. East-West Center.
PUB DATE	Aug 74
NOTE	23p.
JOURNAL CIT	Topics in Culture Learning; v2 1974
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.75 HC-$1.50 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS	*American English; Cultural Context; Cultural Factors; *Language Patterns; *Language Styles; *Language Usage; Native Speakers; Speech Habits
IDENTIFIERS	Names; *Nicknames

ABSTRACT

Americans tend to derive nicknames and more intimate affectionate nicknames from a person's formal first name; the type of name used depends on the social situation and the relationship between the two people. In many cases, for both masculine and feminine names, the nickname is derived from the first (or sometimes the second) syllable of the formal name, and the affectionate nickname is made by adding "ie" or "y." It is significant that in adult life, males are almost always addressed by the nickname, while it is considered permissible to use the affectionate nicknames for females. Variations in the pattern of naming occur in the nicknames of certain politicians (Ike, JFK) or colorful or affectionate nicknames used by sports figures (Babe Ruth, Rosey Grier). (CK)

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Editor, Topics in Culture Learning
TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER.

FL006497

THE AMERICAN WAY WITH NAMES

H. VAN BUREN
SENIOR PROGRAM OFFICER
CULTURE LEARNING INSTITUTE
EAST-WEST CENTER

The purpose of this paper will be to examine the American way with names--how Americans use personal names. If there is a system of usage, that system can be taught in English as a Foreign or Second Language classrooms. If that system is related to the cultural values of American society, then we will have added another link to the chain binding language and culture together.

Lenneberg,[1] in a discussion of the contextual determinants in common naming, cites some factors of an extra-linguistic nature in choosing which name to use;

> . . . the speaker's intent, the type of person he is addressing himself to, or the nature of the social occasion . . .

and then goes on to assert;

> Only proper names are relatively immune from these extra-linguistic determining factors.

I am afraid Lenneberg has erred here; indeed this paper will attempt to show that proper names and their derivatives are, if anything, even more subject to those extra-linguistic factors than are ordinary names.

I would like to extend an earlier statement by Lenneberg in the same work, that;

> . . . most words may be said to label realms of concepts rather than physical things.

to the use of proper names also. This extension will become important later in the paper when, having established the existence of a general system in proper name usage, we will see how certain substitutions must be resorted to when gaps in the system occur (thus leaving certain concepts unlabelled).

In presenting and discussing the data of this paper, the methodology will be to go from the general and regular to the specific and irregular. It is fair to say that the teaching and learning of foreign language has generally followed this procedure of going from regular to irregular and certainly Lenneberg's description of first language acquisition would support such an approach;

> The infant's emerging patterns of language acquisition are global, undifferentiated aspects which gradually unfold until the fully differentiated rules, lexical items, and phonological skills are established. The history of development is one in which the grammatical apparatus becomes more and more complex: accretion is by way of a progressive differentiation of language mechanisms.

Despite their varying historical origins and the many extra-linguistic factors that cross-cut and influence the use of American names, it is quite clear that the regularity of their usage is highly suggestive of the presence of rules that govern their behavior and shape in a manner similar to the rules, suggested by Chomsky and other generative grammarians since 1957, governing many aspects of language behaviour. In this paper, however, I will be more concerned with presenting prose descriptions of the data and their behaviour than I will with formalized rules. I would prefer this paper to be informative, useful and interesting in a non-technical sense.

The discussion will center on proper names,[2] especially first names and their derivatives,[3] the nickname and the affectionate nickname. During the course of the discussion it will become clearer what is meant by the terms first full name (FFN), nickname (Nn), and affectionate nickname (AfNn) but it might be worthwhile at this point to essay a first rough approximation by describing some ways they are used and by whom.

The FFN is the "christian" or given name that appears on the child's birth certificate along with (usually) a middle name and then the family name e.g., James Fenimore Cooper or Eleanor Holmes Norton.[4] The FFN is the base from which the Nn and the AfNn are derived in a majority of cases. The FFN is normally used as a form of address in situations of a slightly less than official nature when the acquaintance is rather new. The FFN is often used by subordinates to superiors when they have worked long enough to not be required to call them by title or last name. Although the FFN is the base form from which the Nn and the AfNn are derived and is the form which must be used on all official documents, it is probably the least used form in conversation. This is due to the relatively few occasions when one is in a new-acquaintance, relatively formal but less-than-official and/or public situation.

One of the few situations where the FFN continues to be used is by an employee to his boss when they are in a long-term relationship but the rank or status gap between them is too large to use a Nn--although the boss may well use a Nn for the employee.

The Nn (nickname) is the choice most often taken by Americans in all normal working and social situations. Every person has the right to ask or allow others to call him by any name he chooses to designate and as Americans strive to reach informal, comfortable relationships as quickly as possible the Nn is the choice. The Nn is usually based on, or derived from the FFN--usually the first syllable of the FFN.[5] The Nn is most frequently used of the three possible choices this paper examines. Even members of the immediate family will use the Nn (rather than the AfNn) in public situations.

The AfNn (affectionate nickname) is reserved for use between members of the immediate family and friends of long standing and/or with a more-than-usual degree of intimacy (including lovers). Its use often begins in childhood. In public situations (i.e. in front of outsiders) family members will often use the Nn as use of the AfNn is considered to be too strong a display of intimacy. Lovers often use the AfNn in public to declare their intimate status. Although the AfNn may be derived from the FFN, it is most often based on the Nn. Although it is used by the fewest number of people, the people who use the AfNn use it often and see the person often and thus its frequency of usage falls somewhere between more than that of the FFN and less than that of the Nn. Of the three names discussed, the AfNn is the one that undergoes the greatest change in usage as a result of the passage from childhood to adulthood, especially for males.

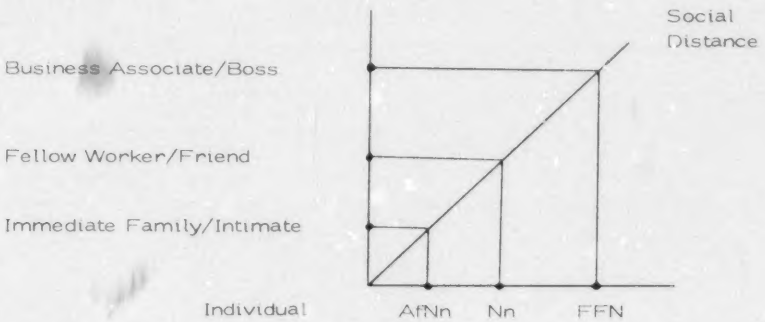
Perhaps the following chart will assist readers in visualizing some of the factors involved in the choice of name used.

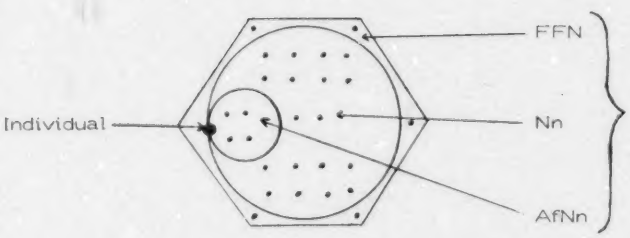
The 'x's' indicate which name is normally used in association with the characteristics of personal relationship, e.g. when an acquaintanceship is rather formal and of no long period of time, the FFN, and possibly the Nn may be used but not the AfNn.

	FFN	Nn	AfNn	
Short Time	x	x		Long Time
Formal	x	x		Informal
Public		x	x	Private
Stranger		x	x	(Intimate) Friend
Unrelated		x	x	Related (blood or marriage)
Adult		x	x	Child
Male		x	x	Female

The characteristics listed above (out of the many possible) are of an informal nature and many cross-cut or influence others. It should also be noted that if we were including titles in this discussion, as they are the most formal and public forms of address, they would lie to the left of the FFN. The chart does illustrate that the Nn is the most often used name.

The following diagrams should help readers understand where the individual stands in relationship to frequency of name usage, number of persons who use the names, and the social distance involved as a result of the combination of which person uses which name.





Area equals frequency of use

• - represents the number of persons

The FFN is the official, distant, "cool" name. The AfNn is the informal close, "hot" name. The Nn falls between the two extremes. Thus we can indicate and measure social and emotional distance between ourselves and others by the names we use for them and they use for us.

Either side can change those distances by changing the name they use. Salesmen in America try to get on a Nn basis with customers as quickly as possible. If a salesman, making house to house calls, tries to use the potential customer's Nn too soon (assuming he has never met the customer before) or if he tries to call the customer by an AfNn, the customer would probably judge the salesman as being "pushy," too aggressive, and refuse to buy the salesman's goods. Successful salesmen are usually skillful in knowing how to obtain permission to use the customer's Nn, and when. When a customer feels comfortable with the saleman on a Nn basis, he is more likely to trust him, believe what he says, and eventually buy from him.

Parents who normally use the AfNn for their children, find it difficult when scolding their children to use the AfNn and will instead use the FFN. The fiercer the scolding the more fully the names owned are used:

> Jessie, no.
> Jess don't.
> Jessica don't do that.
> Jessica Claire I've told you a hundred times not to do that.
> Jessica Claire Van Buren stop that this instant!

In attempting to describe the usage system, no claims are being made as to its inviolability. Nothing prevents a person from calling a colleague by an AfNn rather than a Nn in the same sense that the phonology of English prevents one from saying [k^h ae tz]. There are also times and places when a spouse will not address his partner with the normally used AfNn. The claim is being made that all such changes in usage are made with the general system as a reference point and, aside from individual variations, are culturally and socially rooted--which is not to take away from the regularity of that usage. I have just given one example of interim usage, and other examples of variations based on economic and ethnic groups will be discussed later.

Before turning to some data, I'd like to mention a major difficulty in dealing with American names that makes research complicated[6] although that same element may point to a possible explanation as to why these names carry such a burden. The problem is that one cannot always be sure that the matchings and pairings of names that one uses are universally accurate or historically correct due to the tremendous variety of cultures and languages that serve as resources for the names that Americans use.

Just the quickest glance at a telephone book of any resonably good-sized American town will tell the reader something about the extent and nature of this problem as well as something about the composition of the population, and their antecedents, that is listed therein. In addition to the usual Joneses, we find Smiths, Millers, Carpenters, Waggoners, Plumbers, Barbers, Rivers, Lakes, Woods, Forests, Hills, Valleys, Golds, Silvers, Stones and Mudds (i.e. family names based on occupation, geographical locations, and elements of nature).

We will also find many names that give more than a hint of their national origins, for instance: by prefex, O'Neil, McCormick, MacDougal, DiGiralamo, DeSpain, DuPont, Van Buren, San Antonio, St. Clair; by suffix, Swensen, Steinmetz, Einstein, Kowalski, Vandenberg, Hanson, Ballantine, Sikorsky, Koganovitch, Banacek, and by just plain stems (that are a bit exotic by European-oriented American standards) such as Fuji, Harada, Park, Pak, Chan, Jeng, Diem, Sajorno, Natividad, Ahmad, Srinivasan, Tawilermang, etc. All of these Family, or last names, are just samples of the full list available. Furthermore, lists of names don't indicate the number of people who have altered, simplified, or completely changed their original name in ways that would make them more "American." All of these names bear eloquent witness to the validity of

American's boast of being the world's melting pot. Unfortunately that same melding process has tended to blur the linguistic and cultural processes that have occurred historically, i.e. over time, that shape the ways people name their children, thus depriving the researcher of much valuable information. However, the uncertainty as to which cultural or linguistic process was involved in assigning the FFN does not detract from my thesis as to how the name(s) are used once assigned, and the wide variety of family names may be a factor in focussing attention and importance on the use of the FFN and its two derivatives. Other cultures and languages, while not untouched by outside influences, do have more clearly articulated systems for choosing FFN's and greater historical stability lends more importance to the use of family names.

Being aware of the uncertainty of the diachronic facts, I am forced to deal with the present, or synchronic, situation as much as possible. Therefore, the data in this paper is based, in the main, on my own experience as a native speaker of American English[7] and I will not use names or combinations of names that I, or my friends and colleagues, cannot attest to having seen or heard in actual use. Any errors in fact or judgment are entirely my own and their speedy correction by others will be appreciated. All such corrections will be gains for those who are really interested in the American way with names.

Below is a list (List A) of some male American names in common use today that display the full, regular range of FFN, Nn and AfNn.

LIST A

FFN	Nn	AfNn	FFN	Nn	AfNn
Abraham	Abe	Abie	Gerold	Ger	Gerry
Albert	Al	Albie	Gibson	Gib	Gibby
Alfred	Alf	Alfie	Gilbert	Gil	Gilly
Allen	Al	Allie			
Archibald	Arch	Archie	Henry	Hen	Henny
Arnold	Arn	Arnie	Herbert	Herb	Herbie
Arthur	Art	Artie	Herman	Herm	Hermie
Benjamin	Ben	Bennie	Isaac	Ike	Ikey
Bernard	Bern	Bernie	Isadore	Iz	Izzy
Bertram	Bert	Bertie			
			Jacob	Jake	Jakey
Christopher	Chris	Chrissy	Jeremiah	Jer	Jerry
Clifford	Cliff	Cliffy	Joseph	Joe	Joey
			Julius	Jule	Juley
Daniel	Dan	Danny			
David	Dave	Davey	Kenneth	Ken	Kenny
Dennis	Den	Denny			
Donald	Don	Donnie	Lawrence	Lar	Larry
Douglas	Doug	Dougie	Leonard	Len	Lenny
			Louis	Lou	Louey
Edwin	Ed	Eddie	Lucas	Luke	Lukey
Eric	Rick	Ricky	Luther	Lute	Lutey
Ernest	Ern	Ernie			
			Martin	Mart	Marty
Ferdinand	Ferd	Ferdy	Matthew	Matt	Matty
Francis	Fran	Franny	Maxwell	Max	Maxey
Franklin	Frank	Frankie	Milton	Milt	Milty
Frederick	Fred	Freddy	Mortimer	Mort	Morty

List A Continued . . .

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Nathaniel	Nat	Natty
Nelson	Nels	Nelly
Nicolas	Nick	Nicky
Obert	Ob	Obbie
Oliver	Ol	Ollie
Orrin	Or	Orrie
Orville	Orv	Orvie
Percival	Pers	Percy
Peter	Pete	Petey
Raphael	Ralph	Ralphy
Rodney	Rod	Roddy
Roland	Rol	Rolly
Ronald	Ron	Ronnie
Samuel	Sam	Sammy
Sheldon	Shel	Shelly
Solomon	Sol	Solly
Stephen	Steve	Stevey
Terrance	Ter	Terry
Theodore	Ted	Teddy
Thomas	Tom	Tommy
Timothy	Tim	Timmy
Vernon	Vern	Vernie
Vincent	Vin	Vinnie
Walter	Walt	Wally
Willard	Will	Willy
Woodrow	Wood	Woody

List A demonstrates that, by and large, Nn's are derived from the first syllable of the FFN, as I claimed earlier (p.68). It is possible for a Nn to come from a syllable other than the first, for example: Ham from Abraham. But I have never heard Len from Allen even though Len is a Nn (from Leonard). I wouldn't place Abraham in List A because I have never heard *Hammy but there are some examples (List B) of full sets based on syllables other than the first of the FFN.

LIST B

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Anthony	Ton	Tony
Alfred	Fred	Freddy

but we are more likely to find the following,

Andrew	Drew	Andy
Howard	Ward	Howie
Rudolph	Dolph	Rudy

i.e., the second syllable is used to fill the Nn blank. *Rude and *An or *And seem to be inappropriate names in English.[8] These are also good examples of the pressure that exists to fill a gap in the system (see further discussion from p. 78).

One factor here that would work towards leaving a concept unlabelled would be the femininess of the name Ann. No boy or man would want to be nicknamed Ann. The popular song "A Boy Named Sue" sung by Johnny Cash is, in part, the story of how a young man strikes his own father in retaliation for being given such an unmasculine name.

List A is distinguished by its completeness as well as by its regularity. In contrast, there are names from which neither a Nn nor an AfNn can be derived, e.g., Ichabod, Kyle, Keith, Owen, Guinn, Glen, Quequeeg, Quirt, Vesper, Uriah, Uriel, Zoltan, etc.

Other names (List C) apparently have a Nn but not an AfNn.

LIST C

FFN	Nn	AfNn	FFN	Nn	AfNn
Alexander	Alex		Quentin	Quent	
Barton	Bart		Preston	Pres	
Calvin	Cal		Russell	Russ	
Curtis	Curt		Sidney	Sid	
Ezekial	Zeke		Thaddeus	Tad	
Gregory	Greg		Valentine	Val	
Kimberly	Kim		Victor	Vic	
Lester	Les		Virgil	Virg	
Melvin	Mel		Webley	Web	
Phillip	Phil		Yancey	Yance	

There is a smaller number of names (List D) that have an AfNn but no Nn.

LIST D

FFN	Nn	AfNn	FFN	Nn	AfNn
Bruce		Brucie	Lon		Lonnie
George		Georgie	Oscar		Ossie
Jesse		Jessie	Paul		Paulie

I will discuss later some of the methods used to fill the blanks in List C and D but for now I would like to continue with my thesis that this is a regular process even in cases where the data is of an unusual nature relative to that contained in List A. To restate the process then, the Nn is derived from the FFN--usually the first syllable of the FFN. The AfNn is then usually derived from the Nn by simply adding an [i] sound (spelled either with a y or an ie) to the Nn.[9] In technical linguistic terms this process would be described with redundancy rules. The regularity of this process is also exhibited in cases where the FFN has two or more Nn's (List E).

LIST E

FFN	Nn	AfNn	FFN	Nn	AfNn
Albert	Al	Allie	Richard	Rich	Richy
	Bert	Bertie		Dick	Dicky
				Rick	Ricky
Benjamin	Ben	Bennie	Robert	Rob	Robby
	Benj	Benjie		Bob[10]	Bobby
Charles	Chaz	Charlie	William	Will	Willy
	Chuck	Chuckie		Bill	Billy
Jonathon	John	Johnny			
	Jack	Jackie			
Michael	Mike	Mikey			
	Mick	Mickey			

There is also regularity in cases (List F) where two or more FFN's have only one Nn and AfNn set.

LIST F

FFN	Nn	AfNn	FFN	Nn	AfNn
Clifton Clifford	Cliff	Cliffy	Kenneth Kendall	Ken	Kenny
Edgar Edmund Edward	Ed	Eddie	Lucas Lucius	Luke	Lukey
Jeremiah Jeremy Jeris Jerome	Jer	Jerry	William Willard	Will	Willy

I think the data in List E is self explanatory but that list F could use a word as to why I think it illustrates the regularity of the process. In American Southern Dialects, just as there are lexical and phonological differences from standard or Great Mid-Western American English, name usage varies from the norms being described in this paper. Names (FFN's, Nn's, and AfNn's) are often doubles (Mary Jo, Billy Jack) and sometimes ambiguous as to the sex of the bearer (Billie Jo, Terry Lu). Most importantly for my point is the existence of names like Bill T, Tom B, and John B. Why, then, can't we use names like Ed G, Ed M, or Ed W to help disambiguate which FFN (Edgar, Edmund, or Edward) we are referring to when we use either Ed or Eddie? My answer is that, at least in this instance, the overall regularity of the system I am describing is more important than referential clarity. I have heard Edward G. Robinson (movie actor) referred to as "Eddie G," but I have never heard any Edward called Ed or Eddie W meaning the Ed or Eddie whose FFN is Edward (not Edmund or Edgar).

Another variation of name usage that still fits the pattern of regularity being discussed is the one where the word for the Nn and the AfNn is the same and therefore ambiguous as to which social distance (or meaning) is being shown (List G). We would expect that other names will be used to dis-ambiguate when the social situation demands it and a common method that is used will be discussed later in the paper.[11]

LIST G

FFN	Nn	AfNn	FFN	Nn	AfNn
John	J/Jay(?)	J/Jay(?)	Raymond	Ray(?)	Ray(?)
Leonard	Leo(?)	Leo(?)	Simon	Si(?)	Si(?)
Leroy	Roy(?)	Roy(?)			
Leroy Leander Leland Lemore	Lee(?)	Lee(?)			

Both List F and G illustrate why we must take the FFN as the base form from which the Nn and the AfNn may be derived even though, as List T will show, some Nn-AfNn pairs do not have an actual FFN base and despite the fact that, in terms of frequency of usage, both the Nn and the AfNn stand higher than the FFN, i.e., we cannot determine from Lee,

Ed, or Jerry what the FFN is in any specific instance. However, even the non-native speaker of English should be able to arrive at the Nn and the AfNn of names he has never heard before if the FFN is drawn from Lists A, C, F, and G. Given Samuel, Bertram, and Gregory he should have no difficulty in introducing Sam, Bert, and Greg. As he would not normally be in situations or relationships requiring the use of AfNn's he would be saved the embarrassment of trying to say *Greggie, but would recognize Sammy and Bertie if and when he heard them being used.

Although I have used only male names to this point, most of what I have said applies to female names, too (List H). I shall explain the reason why I have presented them separately later.

LIST H

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Abigail	Ab	Abby
Barbara	Barb	Barbie
Bernice	Bern	Bernie
Christine	Chris	Chrissy
Clarabelle	Clar	Clary/ Clara
Deborah	Deb	Debbie
Dorothy	Dot	Dottie
Eleanor	El	Ellie
Elsa	Els	Elsie
Evelyn	Ev	Evie
Flora	Flor	Flory
Florence	Flos	Flossy
Frances	Fran	Francy
Geraldine	Ger	Gerry
Gertrude	Gert	Gertie
Helen	Nell	Nellie
Irene	Rene	Renie
Janet	Jane	Janey
Jeanette	Jean	Jeanie
Josephine	Jo	Josey
Katherine	Kate	Katy
Lavinia	Vin	Vinnie
Lititia	Let	Letty
Lucille	Lu	Lucy
Madelaine	Mad	Maddy
Marjorie	Marge	Margie
Martha	Marth	Marthy
Nancy	Nan	Nannie
Nicole	Nic	Nickie
Olive	Ol	Ollie
Pamela	Pam	Pammy
Penelope	Pen	Penny
Priscilla	Priss	Prissy
Rebecca	Beck	Becky
Samantha	Sam	Sammy
Stephanie	Steph	Stephie
Susan	Sue	Suzy
Sylvia	Syl	Sylvie
Tamara	Tam	Tammy
Virginia	Virg	Virgie
Winifred	Win	Winnie

Although this list is not as fully fleshed as List A, I think it is sufficient to illustrate that the system of name usage is basically just as regular for female names as it is for male. Combining List A and H gives us an impressive display of the regularity of the system of name usage.

The female names also match the male names in the types of exceptions to List A that exist, so corresponding to List B (Nn and AfNn derived from syllable other than first), we have

LIST I

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Elaine	Lane	Laney
Marilyn	Lyn	Lynnie

and

Althea	Al	Thea
Patricia	Trish	Patsy

Corresponding to List C (sets without an AfNn), we have

LIST J

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Cynthia	Cyn	
Hazel	Haz	
Valerie	Val	

Corresponding to List D (sets without a Nn), we have

LIST K

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Alyce		Allie
Amanda		Mandy
Ann		Annie
Bonita		Bonnie
Candace		Candy
Gloria		Glory
Ida		Idy
Judith		Judy
Marcella		Marcy
Veronica		Ronny

Corresponding to List E (two or more Nn's and AfNn's from single FFN), we have

LIST L

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Barbara	Barb	Barby
	Babs	Babsie
Cassandra	Cass	Cassie
	Sandra	Sandy
Dorothy	Dor	Dorrie
	Dot	Dotty
Elizabeth	Liz	Lizzie
	Beth	Betty
	Bet	Betsy

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Margaret	Mag	Maggie
	Marg	Margie
	Meg	Meggie
	Peg	Peggy
Theresa	Ter	Terry
	Tess	Tessie
Virginia	Virg	Virgy
	Gin	Ginny

Corresponding to List F (single/same Nn and AfNn from two or more FFN's), we have

LIST M

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Christina Christine	Chris	Chrissy
Rosemary Rosette Rosalie	Rose	Rosie

Corresponding to List G (uncertain if single form is Nn or AfNn), we have

LIST N

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Beatrice	Bea(?)	Bea(?)
Violet	Vi(?)	Vi(?)

And, of course, there are female names that apparently cannot act as a base for Nn's or AfNn's e.g., Brenda, Charity, Celeste, Chloe, Esther, Faith, Hope, Una, etc.

As there is so much correspondence between the systematic uses of male and female names, the reader might well wonder why I bother to separate them. First, it is my feeling that all languages will exhibit a male-female distinction in names and therefore the ways a particular language makes those distinctions may give us clues as to the nature of the culture that shapes that usage to its own particular ends, or in a weaker claim, may at least reflect some of that culture's current values.

In the course of gathering and analyzing the data for this paper (especially the names for List C and J, and D and K) I began to feel that male names (List O) tended to lack an AfNn (also see List C),

LIST O

FFN	Nn	AfNn	FFN	Nn	AfNn
Carlton	Carl		Preston	Pres	
Chadwick	Chad		Quenton	Quent	
Delbert	Del		Roger	Rog	
Everett	Ev		Shepard	Shep	
Harold	Hal		Sydney	Syd	
Jeffrey	Jeff		Sylvester	Syl	
Katsuo	Katz		Thadeous	Tad	
Kazuyo	Kaz		Walter	Walt	
Lester	Les		Wesley	Wes	
Mitsuo	Mits		Whitney	Whit	
Phillip	Phil		Zachary	Zack	

and female names (List P) tended to lack a Nn (also see List K).

LIST P

FFN	Nn	AfNn	FFN	Nn	AfNn
Allyce		Allie	Grace		Gracie
Ann		Annie	Hedda		Hedy
Andrea		Drea	Judith		Judy
Amanda		Mandy	Joan		Joanie
Beatrice		Bea	Gloria		Glory
Bridget		Birdy	Marcella		Marcy
Carlotta		Lottie	Ruth		Ruthie
Candace		Candy	Veronica		Ronny
Edith		Edie			

In addition, it was difficult to find male names that had an AfNn but no Nn, as in List D (and for some of those names, e.g. Mark--Ø--Markie, Gene--Ø--*Genie, as the AfNn is too babyish or feminine, if one would like to indicate a closer relationship than use of FFN would indicate, the following is possible Mark--Marko--Ø, Gene--Geno--Ø). There also seemed to be fewer female names with a Nn and no AfNn, as in List J. I take this to be evidence of a male connotation for the Nn and a female connotation for the AfNn. The evidence in Lists O and P in itself is not very conclusive. However, there are other pieces of evidence pointing to the same conclusion but, before discussing some of the more concrete examples, I would first like to briefly mention one thing that is difficult to demonstrate. That is: to the best of my knowledge and experience, for men who lack the AfNn, as in Lists C and O, there doesn't seem to be the same pressure to fill the gap as there is for men with names that lack a Nn, as in List D, to fill that gap.

In the case of female names the reverse is true. Women with names which lack a Nn, as in Lists K and P, do not seem to resort to other sources to fill the gap with the same sense of urgency as those women who, as in List J, because they lack an AfNn do use other sources to fill that gap.

A more substantial piece of evidence in support of the claim that the Nn has a masculine connotation and the AfNn has a feminine connotation, especially for adults, is the observation that men prefer (often insist upon) being called by their Nn by the general population around them even in situations that would apparently be better served by use of either the FFN or the AfNn. On the other hand, women are usually addressed by the more intimate AfNn by the general population in any but the most general and quite public situations.[12] An example that rather neatly sums up both situations can be obtained from the time when John F. Kennedy was President of the United States, the highest public office in America. The general public and all the news media could and often did call the President Jack (never Jackie) and the President's wife Jackie (never Jac, the Nn for Jacqueline).

In order to make my next point in support of the claim for a relationship between masculine-Nn and feminine-AfNn, I would like to list and examine some male/female "mirror image" names.

LIST Q

FFN (Male)	FFN (Female)	FFN (Male)	FFN (Female)
Albert	Alberta	Augustus	Augusta
Alexander	Alexandra	Benedict	Benedicta
Alfred	Alfreda	Bernard	Bernadine
Andrew	Andrea	Cecil	Cecily
Anthony	Antonia	Charles	Charlene

List Q Continued . . .

FFN (Male)	FFN (Female)	FFN (Male)	FFN (Female)
Christian	Christiana	Julius	Julia
Claude	Claudette	Justin	Justina
Clement	Clementine	Leon	Leona
Dennis	Denise	Louis	Louisa
Edwin	Edwina	Lucius	Lucia
Eric	Erica	Marcellus	Marcella
Ernest	Ernestine	Michael	Michelle
Eugene	Eugenia	Nicolas	Nicole
Francis	Frances	Oliver	Olivia
Gabriel	Gabriella	Patrick	Patricia
George	Georgina	Paul	Paula
Gerald	Geraldine	Regis	Regina
Glen	Glenna	Robert	Roberta
Harry	Harriet	Stephen	Stephanie
Henry	Henrietta	Theodore	Theodora
Isadore	Isadora	Thomas	Thomasina
Jess	Jessica	Victor	Victoria
Joseph	Josephine	Wayne	Waynette
Juan	Juanita	Wilhelm	Wilhelmina

If we examine the endings of the names in List Q we can see that whereas most of the female names end either in a vowel (usually /a/) or with a diminutive suffix (-ine, -ina, -ette, -etta) the corresponding male names almost all end in a consonant. Now if the reader will accept the generalization that female names tend to be of the shape NAME ROOT + V/Diminutive Suffix and NAME ROOT + C is the normal shape of the male name, then by looking back through all the lists he will see that most AfNn's end in a V and most Nn's end in a C for both male and female names.

By combining the facts contained in List Q and the uses and pressures exhibited by Lists O and P, I am led to the conclusion that the Nn has the connotation, or contains the element, "masculine" and the AfNn has the connotation, or contains the element, "feminine".[13]

As further evidence in support of both of my major arguments to this point, it is interesting to note that even the terms (i.e. either the name of the relationship or the name of the persons with whom the relationship is held) used within the family share the paradigm of FFN, Nn, AfNn and exhibit the same usage patterns and connotations as do regular proper names (List R). Note, however, the larger number of Nn's on the male side and the lack of "*unkie" for uncle although it is phonologically possible in English as in hunky dory, Bunky, funky, drunkie, etc.

LIST R

FFN or relationship	Nn	AfNn	FFN or relationship	Nn	AfNn
	MALE			FEMALE	
brother			sister		
Bubber	Bub	Bubby	Sister	Sis	Sissy[14]
Budder	Bud	Buddy			
Brallah	Brah[15]		daughter		
son				Doll	Dolly
	Son	Sonny			

List R Continued . . .

FFN or relationship	Nn	AfNn
	MALE	
father Father	Dad Pap Paw Pop Pa	Daddy Pappy
grandfather Grandfather	Gramp Gramps Grandpop Grandpaw Grandpap Grandpa	Grandpappy
uncle Uncle	Unk	

FFN or relationship	Nn	AfNn
	FEMALE	
mother Mother	Mom Ma	Mommy Mama
grandmother Grandmother	Gram Grandma	Grammy Granny
aunt Aunt		Auntie

Usually boys start calling their father Dad, not Daddy, before they themselves are addressed by their Nn in the home. However, it is not unusual for women to continue using Daddy when they themselves are mothers and to be called by a variety of AfNn's in return.

Some of those AfNn's may be drawn from the following list of general terms of endearment which are used normally only between parents and children or between adult members of the opposite sex (List S).

LIST S

FFN or relationship	Nn	AfNn
lover Lover	Love	Lovey
sweetheart Sweetheart	Sweet Sweets	Sweetie
a dear one Dearheart Dearone Dearest	Dear	Dearie
	Babe Hon	Baby Honey

FFN or relationship	Nn	AfNn
beautiful Beautiful	Beaut	Beauty
rough affectionate	Snooks Toots	Snookie Tootsie
kitten Kitten	Kit	Kitty
cat Puss-in-boots	Puss	Pussy

The way names in List S are used is an especially good example of the masculine-feminine split between Nn and AfNn i.e., he will call her Honey and she will call him Hon. The commercial candy bar named after him is still called a Baby Ruth, but no one ever

called the baseball player Babe Ruth, Baby. Dearie has been a euphemistic name for male homosexuals long enough now that, even when used otherwise, the connotation of sarcasm may override all other considerations.

Reminding the reader that I have already pointed out that nothing forces people to use names the way I am claiming they are used (e.g. individual family usage might disagree with List S), I think it is fair to assume that I have established the masculine connotation of Nn's and the feminine connotation of AfNn's via the arguments related to Lists O through R. My assignment and prediction for the names in List G (List G's FFN has a shape that could be either a Nn or an AfNn) then must be as follows: the shape in question must be a Nn and the gap that is to be filled is the AfNn gap and therefore when we find men named Ray, Lee, Leo, Si, etc., we will usually find that if they have an AfNn (remember men don't need it that much) it may be a bit unusual. The reverse will be true for women (List N).

Now I'd like to turn to another aspect of the FFN, Nn, and AfNn paradigm namely, the order and circumstances in which they are acquired in order to identify another element that influences the uses of Nn and AfNn in particular.[16] I will try to show that just as the Nn is distinguished by the presence of the element "masculine," so is the AfNn distinguished by the element of "childishness."

Although it is the FFN that goes on the birth certificate, it is some form of AfNn that is used from birth in most cases. A baby is called Baby, Honey, Sweetie, Sonny, Sissy, Dolly, etc. until the more normal AfNn, based on the FFN, comes into general usage and recognition. Starting school is often the time when this occurs because the child is registered by FFN--from which the AfNn is derived.

During the course of the school years, girls may change names from time to time in play or in search of self autonomy but this process for boys is much more varied and serious an event and the dropping of an AfNn for the Nn may often amount to a rite of passage in terms of the ritual and importance attached to it.[17] In any case, major cultural group or sub-cultural group, the school-year-age process of changing names is more important to the boys than to the girls because girls normally retain the AfNn whereas the boys normally cannot become adults without using the Nn.

When an American boy is in his school years he may take, or be given by his peer group, a variety of Nn's and/or AfNn's (some of which he may even like) that are based on personal or physical characteristics real or imagined. These names are much more difficult to understand because they usually have no FFN.

LIST T

FFN or characteristic	Nn	AfNn
dumb	Boob	Booby
Ø	Buck	Bucky
crazy	Bugs	Bugsie
Ø	Bunk	Bunkie
Ø	Butch	Butchie
Ø	Buzz	Buzzy
Ø	Case	Casey
daft	Daff	Daffy
crazy	Dizz	Dizzy
Ø	Flake	Flakey
bumbler	Goof	Goofy
greenhorn	Green	Greenie
horse rider/ athlete	Jock	Jockey
tough	Knucks	Knucksie
crazy	Loon	Looney
Ø	Mack	Mackie
crazy	Nuts	Nutsie
crazy	Nut	Nutty
red haired	Red	Reddy
red haired	Reds	Redsie
touch	Rock	Rocky
smelly/ offensive	Stinker	Stinky
Ø	Skip	Skippy

There are many more colorful names of this type but they don't exhibit the same regularity of those listed in T although some are clearly of a Nn-AfNn type relationship e.g., Flash, Speedy, Lightning, Turtle, Shorty, Stretch, Chief, Cannonball, Duke, Peaches, King, Horse, Bumper-Bump, Bing-Bingle, Satch-Satchmo, Carrottop, Whitey, Blacky, Blue, Bird, etc.

Another irregular class of rather colorful names, which I will designate "linked names" is a rather small group that is based on a semantic linking of a Nn with the last name. Examples would include Dusty Rhodes (a pun on dusty roads), Mule Skinner (a mule skinner was a mule driver), Skin Flint (a skin flint is a miser, a person who holds on to his money), etc.

The normal American adult male considers these names, as well as the more prosaic, regular AfNn's, to be childish. In his normal progress from boyhood to manhood he sheds them--usually in his teens and early twenties. It may be concurrent with his departure from home to go to college or to join the military service or upon his securing a permanent job. In any event the AfNn is gone and the Nn replaces it in normal usage by the time of his marriage. If no real physical separation from his home takes place, it often requires a struggle on his part to get his mother to call him by his Nn in front of his friends and he probably can never get his grandmother to do so. His father and grandfather will be much more helpful in the changing process and may even force the change on the boy before he feels too much peer group pressure to do so. Brothers and sisters will continue to use the AfNn but they will do it consciously knowing that it embarrasses "big brother" to call him by his "baby name."

Once the boy considers himself an adult, independent of parents and siblings, he will allow only very close, intimate friends to use his AfNn and even then usually only in situations where friendly joking and teasing is appropriate. In most relationships he will not reveal what his AfNn is. If his FFN is of a type from which the AfNn can be predicted and others try to use it, he will gently but firmly correct the usage to what he considers the proper choice relative to the social distance involved. Continued use of the AfNn by another after such correction is considered insulting behavior. The degree of the insult and therefore the severity of his response will depend on his temper, his mood of the moment, his judgment of the relative social position and intent of the insulter, and a host of other considerations including any paralanguage factor the insulter might use such as a lisp. The insult is a powerful one if used deliberately because one has simultaneously questioned his masculinity and maturity. I would strongly recommend that foreign speakers of English avoid addressing adult males by the AfNn unless specifically requested to do so by the person himself--and try to find out which linguistic mechanism or cultural value is being expressed by such a request.

There are certain areas of American cultural life where this change does not take place. For example, athletes may delay the change or, especially if they become professionals, not make the change at all. Some examples from baseball would be Nelly Fox, Willie Mays, and Tommy Davis. In football Jimmy Brown, Rosey Grier, and Woody Hayes. In basketball Casey Jones, Richie Guerin, and Johnny Wooden. In fact Hays and Wooden are well-known coaches and so will probably never stop using the AfNn publicly. Even the legendary, rock-hard taskmaster Vince Lombardi was called Vinnie more often than the normal adult male will accept.

Another example of an occupational group which deviates from the normal usage would be those who are in show business of one kind or another. Frankie Sinatra, "Uncle Milty" Berle, Sammy Davis, Shelley Berman, Shecky Green, Charley (Bird) Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, etc., kept on using AfNn's they acquired in their teens partly because the nature of their adult occupation allows or demands it and partly because the general population does not consider the occupation to be a normal adult one.

A final example would be the names that gangsters, gamblers, and other notorious types use or, more likely, are called, especially in newspaper stories, movies, and paperback books. Bugsie Seigel, Arnie Rothstein, Machine Gun Kelly, and Moe the Gimp

(he walked with a limp) are some examples from the national scene. In Hawaii at this time, recent criminal trials have been filled with men named Nappy, Biggie, etc., usually reported in single quotes along with their full names in newspaper accounts of the proceedings.

That these occupations are exceptional in relation to name usage is revealed when an individual moves out of them into a more conventional career. Football star, Jimmy Brown, becomes movie actor and businessman Jim Brown. Ronnie Reagan, movie idol for millions of American women, becomes Ronald Reagan governor of California. Frankie Sinatra, singing sensation who makes all the girls swoon, becomes Frank when he associates with (now ex) Vice-President Agnew. In all these cases, and in many more not cited here, the AfNn, which had served as a badge proclaiming their unusual status, is dropped and the Nn, or even the FFN, is adopted for general usage.

Male political figures are especially careful to avoid being pinned publicly with AfNn's. They feel the connotation of childishness will hurt them with the voters. Women are faced with a dilemma in politics. If they use the normal AfNn will the voters react unfavorably to the childish connotation? On the other hand, if they use a Nn they are apt to be accused of acting too mannish. The following list (List U) should illustrate my point about male politicians; notice that in some cases initials are thought to be a good compromise between high status (formality) and the need to be well known (informality).

LIST U

FFN	Nn	AfNn
Franklin	FDR	*Frankie
Dwight	Ike	*Ikey/Dwighty
John	Jack/JFK	*Jackie/Johnny
Lyndon	LBJ	*Lynnie
Richard	Dick	*Dicky
Spiro	Ted	*Teddy

I left out President Truman's name because it is an interesting case. Normally, Harry would be an AfNn but it was, in fact, his FFN and therefore most Americans accepted it as a proper Nn i.e. as being neither too formal nor too childish. Nevertheless he was often pictured as the "underdog" and not taken too seriously by his opponents prior to his famous upset victory.

President Nixon's enemies have tried to tag him with the name "Tricky Dicky" from time to time but it has never become popular. Ex-vice-president Agnew's friends called him Ted (his middle name is Theodore) but not the general public. His first name was the source of many jokes, most of them unkind.

This brings to a close that portion of the paper where I try to set out the inventory of names used in American English and the way they are used. This last section has tried to examine some of the elements that are relevant to those uses, particularly how masculinity and maturity mark the Nn as separate from the AfNn.

In those cases where a FFN does not provide a Nn for a man or an AfNn for a woman, what devices or sources are available to fill the gaps?

One of the easiest stratagems is to use the middle name. A young man named Wade Bruce Lindsey has the FFN Wade from which neither Nn nor AfNn can be derived. His friends use either Wade or Bruce as his Nn but his mother uses Brucie for the AfNn. Spiro Theodore Agnew uses Ted as his Nn, but not publicly--why?

Initials may be used as a Nn in at least three possible combinations. LBJ,for Lyndon Baines Johnson, used the initials of all of his names. Others use initials of

first and middle names as in TJ Smith or BJ Sams. The third possibility is most often found in female names where the FFN can consist of two names as in MaryJane Dawn Williams--MJ would be used for the Nn or the AfNn (remembering the discussion relating to List G), most likely the latter for females.

The last name, in whole or in part, may also be used as a source for a needed Nn or AfNn.

LIST V

Last Name	Nn	AfNn	Last Name	Nn	AfNn
Brislin	Briz	*Brizzie	MacDougal McGinnis	Mac	Mackie
Kowalski Sikorski	Ski (if male)	Ski (if female)	Van Dusen Van Hooten	Van	*Vannie

The last name may also furnish a Nn or AfNn if it is common enough (Smitty, Jonesy) or if it happens to be the same as a FFN (Keith James--Jim, Ichabod Thomas--Tom, Warren Spahn--Spahnnie (a professional baseball pitcher)).

Changing attitudes have lessened the likelihood of using the following method but it is still used. One's family nationality, either personally known or revealed by the family name can serve as the base for the Nn and/or the AfNn.

LIST W

Nationality	Nn	AfNn
Chinese	Chink	Chinee
Dutch	Dutch	Dutchie
French	French	Frenchie
Irish	Irish	*Irishie
Japan/Nippon	Jap/Nip	*Jappie/Nippie
Polish	Polack	*Polackie
Portuguese	Portuguese	Portagee
Russian	Russ	Ruskie
Scottish	Scot	Scottie
Spanish	Spanish	*Spainie
Swedish	Swede	*Swedie

It is rather ironic that some of these names, which fit so nicely into the overall system--in fact in the best slot, should have such "bad" meanings today. The different between Swede and Scottie compared to Jap and Chinee is a peculiar glimpse into American history over the last half century.

I have tried to describe and analyze the inventory and usage of American names. Despite the many complexities involved it does seem to be a quite regular, systematic matter. Because this is true, some possible subjects for further study and possible pedagogical use come logically to mind.

First, as it is a system, it can be taught to and learned by non-native speakers of English. It could be a true case of language and culture learning.

Second, it would seem that studies of the use of names in other cultures for comparative purposes might be in order. What little knowledge I possess of Japanese names leads me to believe that many of the same elements described in this paper exist

in Japanese name usage, e.g. there are clear differences between a large number of male and female names. Some of the differences are phonologically realized and others are similar to those in List Q on page 78. In addition to the similarities it might be interesting to see what cultural values might be reflected by the differences in name usages. I wonder if the equivalent of Yank-Yankee in Japanese is "bad?"

Students of literature and drama may find some interesting insights into the conscious and unconscious motivations for the names authors give their characters. For example, in Arthur Miller's Death of a Salesman, why is the adult, male, father of two sons, typical American named Willy Loman?

A study of titles to indicate status and generational location is in order. I suspect that it may be an extension of the present paper.[18]

Finally, and in keeping with the non-technical nature of this paper, I'd like to suggest that psychologists might find a knowledge of the American way with names helpful in their work.

By the way, don't ask me what the H stands for in my name; just call me Van.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Biological Foundations of Language, E.H. Lenneberg, 1967, John Wiley & Sons (pp 343/4). A very readable book that is as useful for the language teacher as it is for the linguist.

[2] Considerations of length and focus of the paper apply here. Titles as forms of address are important and they will be referred to occasionally, but are a proper subject of study in themselves, in addition to the usual sections about their use in Business English handbooks written by McCrimmon and others.

[3] See Starosta reference in footnote #9.

[4] Middle names are often family names of the mother's father or of the grandfathers from either side.

[5] In relation to this fact it is interesting to note how little is consciously known by native speakers about their widely known (i.e. subconsciously) use of names. See reference in footnote #17, and Heller, L., and Macris, J. A typology of shortening devices. American Speech, 1968, 43, 201-208, for an examination of the various types of shortening devices. There are six types: (1) acronyms, which use the initial letters of a word; (2) mesonyms, which use the medial part (e.g., "Liza" for "Elizabeth"); (3) ouronyms, the tails of the subject words (e.g., "Beth" for "Elizabeth"); (4) acromesonyms, the initial plus the medial letters, such as "T.V."; (5) acrouronyms, which use the initial and tail letters in a blend which may be typified by "brunch"; and (6) mesouronyms, medial plus tail combinations which produce words like "Lizabeth". Two patterns of medium shortened words are also classified: (1) shortening by phonology, such as "ad" "Liza" and "Beth"; and (2) orthographological shortenings. In addition, shortenings are divided into two classifications according to the hierarchy affected: (1) monolectic (one word), such as "ad" and (2) polylectic (more than one word, a phrase), exemplified by "brunch". Finally, three ways of indicating abbreviation are classified: (1) no mark as is the case for "he is" (for /hiz/); (2) abbreviation points (for orthographical shortenings only), as in C.O. D.; and (3) apostrophes (usually the orthographical marks reflecting the earlier phonological shortenings), for example "o'clock".

[6]Another difficulty is that the section on names in dictionaries is another example of native speaker ignorance, on a conscious level, of name usage. Webster's Unabridged Dictionary (second edition, 1970; pp 2129 + 160) contains two sections of names and one section on terms of address but not one word on name usage.

[7]I am not being jingoistic, just careful not to mislead anyone into thinking that what I will describe will fit the English of Great Britain, Australia, etc.

[8]* means a name that doesn't exist in the sense I have never heard it used.

[9]For those who are interested, one can begin with Chomsky, N. Aspects of the Theory of Syntax. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1965, pp. 164ff. For fuller and more interesting detail see Starosta, S. "Some Lexical Redundancy Rules for English Nouns." Glossa, 1971, 2.

[10]I have heard the back formation *Bobert used jokingly.

[11]See discussion on p. 81 ff.

[12]Women whose names are of the List H type, i.e., with all three forms, and who are generally addressed by their AfNn will often be called by their Nn by intimates--a reversal of the normal situation. In a backhand way, this supports my claim that the three basic degrees of social distance do exist and three names are needed to identify/label them. This reversal may also occur with male names, e.g. Ton seems to me to be a more intimate name than Tony. Certainly men named Anthony are usually called Tony.

[13]Which would explain why we often find patterns like the following:

Victor	Vic	Ø	Victoria	Ø	Vicky

[14]Sissy has such a strong connotation of cry-baby or weak person that it is rare for one to hear it used nowadays, even for girls. For adult males it is often used as a euphemism for homosexual. If it is used directly, to the male being addressed, it is an insult.

[15]This is a Hawaiian usage not generally known on the mainland United States.

[16]I am trying to make a distinction here between elements that are in a class (e.g. there are both masculine and feminine FFN's) and elements that by their presence or absence distinguish one class from another (e.g. Nn is distinguished from AfNn by the presence of the element, or extra-linguistic factor, masculine).

[17]See "Names, Graffitti, and Culture" in the April 1969 issue of Urban Review by Herbert Kohl.

[18]For example, lately I have noticed a rise in popularity of using, instead of the first name, middle initial, family/last name, a shift to first initial, full middle name and family/last name. Some people have always done this, for example E. Power Biggs, W. Nelson Francis, F. Scott Fitzgerald and W. Averill Harriman, but they were and are unusual men (I do wonder what their first names are). I'm not talking here about men trying to break the normal pattern as a way of calling attention to themselves, but a change in ordinary usage.

TOPICS IN CULTURE LEARNING

Volume 2 1974

Edited by Richard W. Brislin

August 1974

East-West Center
East-West Culture Learning Institute
1777 East-West Road
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION 3

THE PACIFIC CULTURAL CENTERS PROGRAM 7

Verner C. Bickley

PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF CULTURAL PLURALISM: UNITY AND IDENTITY RECONSIDERED 17

John W. Berry

BEYOND CULTURAL IDENTITY: REFLECTIONS UPON CULTURAL AND MULTICULTURAL MAN 23

Peter S. Adler

A SWEDISH APPROACH TO INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION 41

D. Ray Heisey

LOOKING AT ISLANDERS: EUROPEAN WAYS OF THINKING ABOUT POLYNESIANS IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES 51

Gavan Daws

UNDERSTANDING HUMAN INTERACTION: THE STUDY OF EVERYDAY LIFE AND ORDINARY TALK 57

Karen Ann Watson

THE AMERICAN WAY WITH NAMES 67

H. Van Buren

DISPLAY RULES AND FACIAL AFFECTIVE BEHAVIOR: A THEORETICAL DISCUSSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR RESEARCH 87

Jerry D. Boucher